595 /218 cont./
[539] eat your harvests (1)!"

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group, the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 [671] [178] We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Reguibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first